2: Krige and Krige E-5 (1928-1939)1943
FX14 Lovedu FX14

181 of course, not congenial to every one, and frustrations occur; but the society provides for procedures whereby serious frustration is minimized. Thus the loss to one family of a murdered man is solaced by replacing him from the family of the murderer and building up permanent marriage and *mungwalo* links between the two families. Tolerance of variations harmonizes with the insistence upon compromises, and in the setting of the culture it does not create serious problems of instability and insecurity. Security is provided by the integration and coherence of the dominant motivations and interests, the long-run reciprocities of the social system, and the unshakable confidence in the powers of the queen. At the same time the predictability necessary for stability is of a different order from that of our social arrangements; and it is measured very largely by the spirit and the willingness and attitude of people.

181 Conformity is not secured by external sanctions of force and only to a
126 remarkably small degree by the ancestors. Nor are people so delicately conditioned to the values of the society that they spontaneously react to conscience. The internal sanctions are only moderately developed and there is no undue sensitiveness to shame or guilt, ridicule or abuse. An offender is not cast out; and a witch, generally speaking, is not ostracized. Over-sensitiveness to rebuffs, even in delicate situations such as when a man begs the favour of joining a beer drink, is deprecated, for, as they say, 'To chase a guinea-fowl [the beggar] is to cause it to go where it can scratch for food', so that it is foolish to feel crestfallen when the remedy is to pass on and seek beer where you will be well received. Nor should a man be sensitively timid or unnecessarily diffident: 'He who feels cold need not be shown the fire'; one may ask for favours and should not feel injured if refused; and there is no disgrace in begging for whatever one needs. Indeed, just as 'An ant bearing a burden cannot crawl under dry wood' (that is, things that will conceal him), so a man who has of the good things of life cannot hope to escape sharing with others who may legitimately beg some of them. Europeans often interpret these traits as obtuseness, shameless beggary, insensitiveness to high ideals, and even insolence.

The Lovedu are sensitive mainly to the intangible forces of the social system, and these forces are set into motion against a man when he disregards the reciprocities upon which the system relies. Since there are few repressed fears the pressure of which on the mind can be removed by confession and atonement, the sense of guilt seldom moves men; offenders very rarely repent merely at the dictate of conscience. The sense of shame is more delicately internalized, but it drives men to make restitution only when the misdeed has been exposed and brought into relation with the reciprocity system. The ego, in other words, is not highly vulnerable, for it is well-balanced, so that frustration of one purpose does not prostrate the individual, and there are many opportunities of escape from an antagonistic to a better disposed group or environment; as they phrase it, 'There is no madman but he has a friend'. Participation in the benefits of the culture depends upon not offending against the reciprocities; but the positive aspect, pride and self-realization in mutuality, is far more important than the negative aspect, fear of being deprived of the reciprocities.

2: Krige and Krige E-5 (1928-1939)1943
FX14 Lovedu FX14

It need hardly be said that the reciprocities are not precisely calculated equivalences, nor a series of exactly balanced obligations. People do not consciously think of the long-run result of their behaviour, and they know that social duty done is not always sure of its reward. 'Hard as the axe chops, it cannot eat the honey it extracts', they say to warn those who expect that their efforts will inevitably be rewarded.

The traits, motivations, and attitudes of the Lovedu become more and more intelligible in the context of the culture as a whole. Whether they are so delicately integrated that we can speak of the culture as an articulated whole, is not a question we shall try to answer. The tribal boundaries are certainly not the boundaries of the culture, which both in its forms and in its attitudes very gradually merges into the culture of a larger area, the limits of which cannot be exactly determined. In view of the increasingly great variations as one goes further and further from the nucleus, the degree of integration can be regarded relatively only to the area one chooses. Lack of integration is often more apparent than real. With regard both to recently introduced elements and to old elements which in their forms or purposes lag behind the changes of the whole culture, the process of integration is proceeding apace, but can never be complete. Thus the cult of possession is shedding those elements that are incongruous with the culture. There are also apparent inconsistencies in the divergent forms allowed in the districts and in principles of behaviour which are contradictory. Thus, for instance, revenge is permitted in the magico-witchcraft sphere, but is outlawed in the legal sphere. We may compare this contradiction to our approval of killing an enemy in war, which is conceived to be in the interests of national security, and our condemnation of killing a fellow man in peace, which is a crime against the security of life. Cultures often segregate contradictory aspects of social experience into logic-tight compartments, and there is no conflict as long as the contradictions can either be kept distinct or be reconciled. If they are embodied in the cultural system, no pressure is brought to compare them, and there is no lack of integration either in the mind of the individual or in the culture.

Men feel insecure chiefly in the face of disease and death, dissension, drought, and the disruptive danger of European intervention. The Lovedu attribute their fears to witchcraft, aggressiveness and quarrelsomeness, wrong burials, and the 'spoiling' of the country by the white man. We shall deal briefly only with two of these sources of insecurity: disease, which is one of the most constant preoccupations of the Lovedu mind, and the European, whose meddling has changed the shape and meaning of life and has upset the standards of right and wrong.

There is abundant reason for the perpetual anxiety about health, for disease is rife and even minor illnesses provide the occasion for the entry of the witch. Read against the background of their imperfect knowledge of anatomy and of the causation of disease, experience warns men that almost anything, from a simple scratch to the dreaded 'coughing disease', may cause death; in every case, not germs and poisons, but witches and sorcerers, may enter the body and take advantage of the weakness of the patient. Disease is combated, and susceptibility to disease is guarded against, at

4: Krige and Krige E-5 (1928-1939)1954
FX14 Lovedu FX14

577 769 arms' to cause drought in 1938, it was because he had for personal reasons been buried, at his own express request made before death, in the Christian cemetery instead of in the damp shade of the forest, like his forebears.

577 593 It would appear that this lack of interest on the part of the ancestral gods in the morality of their descendants is in conformity with the pattern of the relationship between living parents and their children. Parental protection and care are given not by virtue of the morality or conduct of their children; it is one of the imperatives of the kinship bond. A parent loves his wayward, bad son as much as, if not more than, his well-behaved, virtuous children. It is only a bad personal relationship between parent and child or neglect of filial duty that could cause a parent to withhold his protection.

•626 Sanctions for right behaviour are, first and most important, the pressure of public opinion and of the reciprocal arrangements of the political and social structure. A man conforms to the code because of his self-esteem and the high regard he has for his reputation for fairness and moderation, wisdom and ability to get on with others, generosity and helpfulness, not merely among his kin but in the wider circle of his friends and neighbours. The next important group of sanctions are the pain and misfortune that may follow if those he has injured use vengeance magic or resort to witchcraft and sorcery against him. Certain types of conduct carry their own automatic ritual sanctions which form a third group of deterrents, even though there is little pressure of public opinion against the conduct and no necessary or immediate consequence to the person himself, unless indeed he is repeatedly guilty. Finally, duties towards the ancestors, such as tendance and recognition, have the religious sanctions of ancestral anger in the form of illness, or misfortune. Ancestral displeasure can also be inferred as a sanction acting indefinitely and over a vague area of conduct to reinforce men's obligations to kin, generally those kin who stand to them in a relation of some authority. This inference may be made, not because ancestors ever directly cause misfortune to a descendant for breaches of correct behaviour to kin as they do in the case of neglect of themselves, but because bad luck may be attributed to failure in one's duties to kin.

626 769

[769] 577 Ancestor worship of the Lovedu plays hardly any part, then, in upholding tribal morality. Nor are people so delicately conditioned to the values of the society that they spontaneously react to conscience. Their moral code is not markedly internalized and Lovedu have no sense of 'sin'. Since there are few repressed fears the pressure of which on the mind can be removed by confession and atonement, a sense of guilt seldom moves men, and offenders very rarely repent merely at the dictates of conscience. Their sense of shame is more delicately internalized, but it drives men to make restitution only when the misdeed has been exposed or brought into relation with the system of reciprocities. Lovedu are sensitive mainly to the intangible forces of the social system, and the moral code is upheld mainly

5:Krige E-5 (1936-1938, 1961-1962) 1964
FX14 Lovedu FX14

suggesting that as the first wife was not strong they should send her uterine sister as a little 'follower' to help her. Finding that her son was agreeable she reported the matter to his eldest half-brother, head of the homestead, who discussed the matter with his brothers.

The ultimate guarantor of the interests and economic independence of the 'house' is the cattle-linked sister with whose bride-price the wife was obtained. As we have seen, she occupies a very special position in the 'house' built by her cattle. Even before her brother's bridal party arrives at his homestead with the new bride she is taken to his married sister's homestead where a goat is slaughtered for her in recognition of their special relationship. When the sister visits her old home she will 'put down her things' and make herself at home in the hut of this wife of her brother. She is the first to be called to beer there; she must be invited to all activities such as work-parties held by the 'house'; all sickness is reported to her; she is called in to discuss the marriage of all sons and daughters of that 'house'. She or her eldest uterine sister is the one who magically protects a new homestead by drawing a medicated branch in a magical circle around it. If her father and mother are dead she sees to it that her brother treats his wife properly. He cannot chase her away or divorce her unless his sister believes his action to be justifiable; and she may, and very often does, take her brother's wife to live with her in her husband's village if he ill-treats her. She has an interest in this 'house' for here her son will find a wife. When her brother dies it is she and her sisters who will distribute the inheritance. The sanction for her control is a religious one: if she is 'dissatisfied in her heart' this may 'stir up the ancestors' and cause a child of her brother to be ill—a very powerful weapon.

Development of a House

Let us consider the growth and development of a house for it is only by a very gradual process that a house reaches full stature. The marriage of every woman marks the birth of a new unit which may become in time an independent homestead though it does not always do so. This is possible at the earliest only when the eldest son has married a wife and